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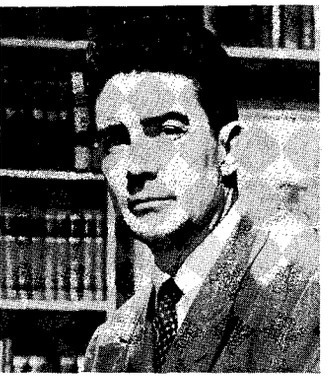

DAN SMOOT

POWER POLITICS

In 1963, the United States Congress considered, but did not approve, a Kennedy administration proposal to build a government power dam across the Savannah River at Trotters Shoals in Abbeville County, South Carolina. U. S. Senator Strom Thurmond (then a Democrat, now a Republican) opposed the project because it would flood 24,000 acres of valuable land and prohibit private development.[1]

A House subcommittee on public works held hearings (1963) on the Trotters Shoals proposal and found it undesirable; but federal bureaucrats — relentless in their grab for power — still lobby for congressional authorization.

Meanwhile, Duke Power Company (a private enterprise, investor-owned utility) asked the Federal Power Commission for permission to build a 700-million-dollar power complex in two South Carolina Counties where the federal government has never proposed to build any dams or power plants. Duke proposes a gigantic power development project on the Keowee and Toxaway Rivers (both intrastate) in Oconee and Pickens Counties, in the northwestern corner of South Carolina. The Duke development would *directly* create hundreds of jobs in the part of South Carolina which is included in the Appalachian region scheduled to receive vast grants of federal tax money in President Johnson's war on poverty. *Indirectly* (by attracting new industry), the Duke project would create thousands of new jobs for this portion of Appalachia. When completed (in the early 1970's), the Duke power complex would provide recreational facilities for the public, a game-management area, and many millions of dollars in taxes for local, state, and federal governments.[2]

On June 21, 1965, Stewart Udall, Secretary of the Interior, filed a petition asking the Federal Power Commission to prohibit Duke Power Company from building the Keowee-Toxaway project. Udall said that Duke "has no need for the hydro power" it proposes to produce and that Duke

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can meet future needs by purchasing power from the Trotters Shoals project which the federal government still wants to build on the Savannah River (about 75 miles distant from Duke's proposed Keowee-Toxaway complex).[2]

The State Legislature, the Governor of South Carolina, South Carolina's delegation in the U. S. Congress, and, apparently, most of the people in the State, are outraged by Secretary Udall's efforts to stop the proposed development by private enterprise.[2]

It is obvious that the Duke Power Company development would vastly improve the economy of northwestern South Carolina. It is equally obvious that socialists, who call themselves liberals, are ready to sacrifice the welfare of the people for a chance to socialize further a major industry. Another motive is also involved. Secretary Udall's efforts to stop the Duke Power Company development is one of several indications that the Johnson administration is retaliating against the people of South Carolina for their political behavior.[2]

How have South Carolinians offended President Johnson?

— South Carolina was one of six states carried for Goldwater in 1964.[2]

— South Carolinians have not wavered in their admiration and support of Senator Strom Thurmond who, in 1964, switched his affiliation from Democrat to Republican Party.[2]

— South Carolinians in the Second Congressional District reelected U. S. Representative Albert W. Watson, by an overwhelming majority, in a special election on June 15, 1965.[2] Watson was elected as a Democrat in 1962 and 1964. He later switched his affiliation to the Republican Party, resigned his seat in the House, and ran for re-election as a Republican. The result of that special election was considered a direct slap at the Democrat Party of Lyndon B. Johnson.

Use of power politics is the chief characteristic of Johnson's administration. In defiance of the Constitution and to the detriment of public welfare, the President and Congress use the autocratic authority of federal agencies and the tax money of the people to reward and punish, for political purposes. Under administration pressure, some members of Congress actually sell their votes, not for money to put in their pockets, but for political support to keep them in their jobs. For example, consider the political bargaining involved this year in farm and labor legislation.

To repay a political debt to union officials, President Johnson promised to outlaw state right-to-work laws by repealing Section 14 (b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey arranged the congressional vote-trading to insure repeal. Pro-union Congressmen (who have no farm constitutents) promised to support farm legislation if farm-state Congressmen (who have few union constituents) promised to support repeal of Section 14 (b).[3] On July 28, 1965, the House, by a vote of 221 to 203, passed HR 77 to repeal Section 14 (b). Members from farming districts voted with pro-union members from big cities.

The effectiveness of Humphrey's political coercion is revealed by the fact that all six Democrat Representatives from Iowa voted for HR 77. Iowa has a right-to-work law, which, according to public opinion polls, is favored by 73% of all Iowans.[4] Moreover, a recent Iowa case disclosed the ugliness of monopolistic unionism.

Local 46 of the United Packinghouse, Food and Allied Workers has a contract with the Rath Packing Company at Waterloo, Iowa; but, because of the Iowa right-to-work law, employees are free to stay out of the union if they wish. In defiance of the law, the union undertook to force membership on employees who had chosen not to join, and to collect back dues from others. On the basis of a complaint filed by one non-union employee, the National Labor Relations Board investigated, and decided that the union was guilty of unfair labor practices. A report on the NLRB decision was published in the Des Moines *Register*:

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The NLRB decision says . . . . "It was not uncommon to see union representatives . . . stopping employes, . . . and in some instances shoving or pummeling them . . . . Many times employes had to be escorted by policemen in order to gain entrance to the plant. The employes accosted were . . . in some cases jostled or pushed or struck during the course of their exchange of words with union representatives."

Samuel W. Berry, a non-union worker, was referred to as "Chicken Sam" in the union's bulletin . . . . The NLRB described his treatment as follows:

"Berry . . . and his wife and daughter were threatened and called abusive names. Berry was frequently threatened with physical assault . . . . The whole series of events indicated that Berry was threatened with beatings, mutilation in a meat chopper, and loss of his life, and that water and oil were poured on him, he was jabbed with sticks and brooms and shovels, shoved, kicked, tripped, and had his clothes ruined . . . . The culmination of the many acts of persecution was when employe Berry was pushed down a flight of stairs resulting in his hospitalization."

The NLRB found that the union and its agents had similarly harassed a number of other employes . . . .[5]

Conditions in the American merchant marine starkly reveal the evils of monopolistic unionism.

From the days of the Yankee Clipper until this generation, the American merchant marine — vital not only to the national economy but also to national security — was a vital force in world trade. Now it is dying, primarily because federal labor laws have granted unions a tight monopoly on the labor force for the merchant marine. Excessive operating costs forced upon shippers by monopolistic unions make it impossible for Americans to compete with foreigners.

A recent chapter in the alarming story about monopolistic unionism and the merchant marine was widely publicized at the very time Vice President Hubert Humphrey was persuading members of Congress to sell their votes, and the freedom and welfare of the public, to magnify the illegal power of monopolistic unions. Note the following from an article in the August 2, 1965, issue of *U. S. News & World Report*:

"The latest strike against the shipping industry — now well into its second month — is raising the question of whether the U. S. merchant marine can stay in business in the face of its growing labor problems . . . .

"Secretary of Commerce John T. Connor has termed demands of the striking union 'inflationary and . . . unreasonable.' . . .

"The current strike, by marine engineers, is the latest in a long series that has cost the shipping industry millions of man-days of idleness in recent years . . . .

"Shipping lines had lost millions in revenue. They were losing business to airlines and to foreign ships. The Government shifted some military cargo to foreign vessels. And the Defense Department called up some fast cargo ships to move military supplies and equipment to South Vietnam . . . .

"Maritime experts say the labor problem is complicated because shippers have to deal with so many unions. Often, it is said, these unions work at cross purposes. Personal and economic rivalries develop among union leaders . . . .

"Wages of maritime workers, meanwhile, are continuing to rise, and now are estimated at three to four times those of workers on foreign ships . . . ."[6]

What about the farm legislation which the Johnson administration's unholy farm-labor alliance is trying to push through Congress? It is as unconstitutional and harmful to the public as the labor legislation for which it has been bartered.

On April 5, U. S. Representative Harold D. Cooley (North Carolina Democrat) introduced HR 7097, the administration's omnibus farm bill. The bill was revised during hearings, which began April 6. On July 14, Representative Cooley introduced a new bill (HR 9811), which incorporated

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HR 7097, and added new programs for cotton and dairy products.[7] The House passed HR 9811 on August 19, 1965.

The farm bill under consideration continues and expands old programs, which have cost taxpayers about 42 billion dollars and have failed wretchedly to accomplish their announced purpose of guaranteeing income parity for small family farms.[7,8]

Parity or *parity ratio* is the relationship between prices which farmers get for what they sell, and prices they pay for what they buy — a measure of farmers' prosperity, in terms of purchasing power. Parity ratio is based on indices of prices in a five-year period (1910-1914) prior to World War I. During that period, farmers enjoyed 100% parity. That is, prices they got for what they sold were adequate in comparison with prices they paid for non-farm products.[8]

In 1930, before initiation of federal farm programs, farmers' parity of income was 83%. In 1964 (after net expenditure of 41 billion, 759 million, 384 thousand, two hundred and twenty-seven federal tax dollars—$41,759,384,227.00—to help family farmers), farmers' parity of income had declined to 75%.[8]

The vast outlay of public money has enriched big farming syndicates and dishonest operators like Billie Sol Estes, while millions of little farmers, unable to compete, have either become farm hired hands, or moved to cities.[8]

Federal farm programs were first authorized by Congress in the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933. In 1936, the Supreme Court (in the Butler Case) held the AAA unconstitutional. Roosevelt's threat to pack the Court in 1937, together with the demise of some of the "nine old men," changed the complexion of the Court. So, the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 (even worse than the AAA of 1933) was approved by the new Supreme Court as constitutional.[8]

In the 1930's, Henry Wallace was Franklin D. Roosevelt's Secretary of Agriculture. Surrounded by communists (who, official investigation later disclosed, actually conceived the new-deal farm programs), Wallace paid farmers to destroy crops and animals. It was a preposterous program, bound to do great harm; but World War II erupted in 1939; and war-stimulated demands for agricultural products solved our "farm surplus" problem for several years and obscured damage that government's farm programs were doing.[8]

The parity ratio for farmers' income rose to 113% in 1943 and remained about 100% until 1949, when it started a decline. President Harry S Truman recommended the Brannan plan — a program of direct federal payments to give farmers a minimum annual income which officialdom wanted them to have, regardless of merit, production, market demands, or anything else. Congress rejected the Brannan plan.[8]

The Korean war created enough demand for agricultural goods to solve the farm problem again, temporarily, and to hide the absurdities of the government's farm programs. The parity ratio for farmers' income rose to 107% in 1951, and then started a steady decline, dropping to 83% in 1956 — exactly where it was in 1930 before federal farm programs began.[8]

President Dwight D. Eisenhower's administration tried to solve our farm-surplus problem with the foreign-disposal operation (later called "Food For Peace" program), conducted under the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954. Under this law, we sell and give our farm surpluses to foreign nations.[8]

Seven years after enactment of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 (for the primary purpose of reducing our agricultural surpluses), our government had in storage surplus farm commodities worth about 9 billion, 400 million dollars ($9,400,000,000.00), almost twice as much as it had stored in 1954 when the act was passed.[8]

A secondary purpose of the 1954 act was to win world-wide friendship. Within six years, anti-American feeling had spread more widely and

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reached higher peaks of intensity than ever before in our history: American embassies and information libraries were mobbed and ransacked in all parts of the world; our Vice President and his wife were spat upon and pelted with garbage while on a good-will tour abroad; our President was ordered to cancel a planned good-will trip to Japan because of anti-American rioting there.[8]

From 1954 through 1964, the Food-For-Peace program cost American taxpayers at least 21 billion, 300 million dollars ($21,300,000,000.00). If this sum is added to the 41.7 billion-dollar net cost of the government's agricultural programs from 1933 through 1964, the federal government's programs to support agricultural prices and to dispose of the resulting surpluses cost at least 63 billion dollars for the 31-year period, 1933 through 1964.[8]

This does not include billions which government has spent to help farmers, through the Rural Electrification Administration, the Farmers Home Administration, the Federal Land Banks, the Farm Credit Administration, and so on. Yet, the present parity ratio for farmers' income is eight percentage points less than in 1930, before all the spending began.[8]

Having failed to solve the farm-surplus problem with the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, Eisenhower's administration, in 1956, produced a new "solution." Instead of paying farmers to destroy crops and animals already raised, as the Democrats had done 20 years before, Republicans initiated the soil bank — paying owners to keep their land idle and raise nothing.[8]

Legalized racketeering in the government's farm programs multiplied rapidly under the soil bank law.

On March 16, 1961, President John F. Kennedy proposed a new program to solve the farm problem. The program (devised by Dr. Willard W. Cochrane, Minnesota economist) prescribed a supply-management system in which committees of farmers, under control of the Secretary of Agriculture (with Congress having only a negative veto vote if it disapproved) would regulate production and income of American farmers. This scheme would have created a system similar to agricultural systems in communist countries.[8]

Congress rejected the Cochrane plan in 1961, but extended existing farm programs. Congress also passed Kennedy's Emergency Feed Grains bill — providing for a rise in price supports for feed grains, payments in cash and kind for farmers who agreed to reduce acreage of corn and grain sorghums by 20 to 40 percent, and loss of eligibility for price supports on feed grains by farmers who did not participate in the acreage-reduction plan.[8]

In 1962, Kennedy proposed another Cochrane farm plan — which, as Dr. Cochrane himself admitted, would have meant granting (by sale or gift) a federal franchise to farm. The value of a farm would depend not on the quality of land or on the labor and investment put into improvements, but on the kind of federal franchise held.[8]

Congress rejected the 1962 Cochrane supply-management farm plan, but converted the *emergency* feed-grains program of 1961 into a *permanent* program — authorizing the Secretary of Agriculture to support feed-grains prices (as high as 90% of parity), requiring no acreage limits or other production curtailment. This permanent program of supporting feed-grains prices (said to be needed because of over-production of feed grains) went into effect in 1964. In 1964, Congress enacted and President Johnson approved a bill authorizing 47 million dollars for three irrigation projects in the Upper Colorado River Basin: projects which will put 65,000 acres of land *into production of feed grains.*[8]

In 1962, Congress also authorized the Secretary of Agriculture to conduct a wheat referendum in 1963 to determine whether the supply-management system should be adopted for wheat.

The Kennedy administration mobilized the resources of the federal government to get a resounding *yes* vote in the wheat referendum of May, 1963 — hoping to show that America's farmers wanted high price supports and tight regimen-

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tation. But wheat farmers (despite all the power and threats of federal officials) voted *no*. Consequently, no farm legislation was passed in 1963, and none of major consequence in 1964.[8]

In effect, President Johnson's 1965 farm bill revives the Kennedy-Cochrane proposal for making farmers subject to federal franchise. President Johnson recommends that farmers be allowed to sell or lease their federal acreage allotments — a practice which, although illegal, has produced many multi-million-dollar scandals in the past. Imagine the profiteering at taxpayers' expense which will occur if the practice is legalized. Individuals who have "contacts," or whose political behavior pleases officials in power, will be *given* federal acreage allotments which they may *sell* to others.[7,8]

President Johnson wants Congress to supplement present farm programs with a "long-term Cropland Adjustment Program"; but this is merely an elaboration of the Kennedy "Land Use" proposals of 1961 and 1962. This scheme would take cropland *permanently* out of agricultural production, by converting it into public parks or lakes, or by paying owners to develop it for industrial, recreational, or other uses.[7,8]

Under guise of promoting soil conservation, the pending farm bill (HR 9811) authorizes long-term government contracts (up to ten years) to pay farmers for diverting 40 million acres of cropland to conservation and related uses — permitting the diverted land to be used for grazing during emergencies.[7] This is merely an extension of the corrupt soil-bank program initiated by the Eisenhower administration in 1956.

Though the present farm bill is wholly unconstitutional, and all its programs thoroughly discredited, the only feature which caused much controversy was the proposal to increase the cost of the wheat marketing certificate scheme adopted in 1964. To a farmer covered by this program, the government gives marketing certificates for wheat which the farmer sells for domestic consumption. When the farmer sells his wheat to a domestic processor, he also sells his marketing certificates. Under the new bill, the processor would pay market price for the wheat, and pay enough for the marketing certificates to guarantee the farmer $2.50 for each bushel of wheat he sells — an increase of 50 cents from the 1964 level.[7]

Supporters of this scheme said it would finance wheat price supports "out of the market place," rather than "out of the U. S. Treasury." Opponents called it a bread tax. Processors must calculate the cost of marketing certificates as part of the cost of the wheat, and must pass the cost on to consumers. The result of the added cost of the marketing certificates would be an increase in the price of bread (and other wheat foods) for consumers. This hidden bread tax would hurt poor people most because the poor spend more than others on bread, in proportion to total income.

Orville Freeman (Secretary of Agriculture) conceded that the wheat marketing certificate scheme would increase the price of bread, but denied it was a bread tax. In a speech to the Missouri Farmers Association on August 2, 1965, Freeman denounced opponents of the plan as a huge "bread trust." He said:

"This is a basic matter of principle. Why shouldn't the farmer get a fair rate of return out of his product? Why should this come as a subsidy out of the Treasury — paid by the taxpayers? . . .

"I will not bow down to this bread trust. It is spending untold sums of money, misleading urban members of Congress and trying to frighten them that there is a great consumer groundswell against a bread tax."[9]

Having joined other administration officials to get farm-district Congressmen to support the administration's labor legislation, Freeman condemned the "bread trust" for trying to use the same tactic in reverse.

Having condemned the "bread trust" for inspiring letter writing to stop the farm bill in Congress, Mr. Freeman urged farmers to write letters demanding enactment of the bill.[9]

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On August 4, 1965, Charles B. Shuman, President of the American Farm Bureau Federation, wrote a letter to Secretary Freeman, saying:

"Reports we have received from all parts of the nation show conclusively the expenditure of large sums of public money in efforts to induce farmers to influence their representatives in Congress to vote for this ill-advised legislation.

"Even if this were a bill of unquestioned merit and universal appeal – which it certainly is not – the expenditure of government funds to propagandize the citizens is an illegal, immoral and unethical use of public money and power."[10]

Mr. Freeman claims to stand on principle; but no perceptible principles guide the Johnson administration — just the exigencies and strategems of power politics.

On August 19, 1965 — despite the best efforts of the Johnson administration — the House passed a "compromise" farm bill which, in the end, did not raise the cost of wheat marketing certificates, but raised the cost of each bushel of domestically consumed wheat by 50 cents to be paid *out of general tax revenues*, spreading the burden of subsidized wheat from bread consumers to the general tax-paying public. House Majority Leader Carl Albert (Oklahoma Democrat) made it clear that the decision for the "compromise" measure was not made by Secretary Freeman, but was forced upon the House leadership by the overwhelming pressure of opponents to Freeman's bread tax.[11]

The hypocrisy of the Johnson administration — which the Freeman speech typifies — is galling; yet, there is something instructive in what Freeman said. In urging farmers to put pressure on Congress, he revealed the importance of letter writing to members of Congress. Defeat of Freeman's bread tax proposal proves the effectiveness of concerted effort to stop the Johnson steamroller.

Though the House has already passed HR 77 (repealing the right-to-work section of the Taft-Hartley Act) and HR 9811 (the omnibus farm bill), neither bill has yet been finally approved by the Senate. Both bills may be enacted before this session of Congress ends, but that will be no excuse for constitutional conservatives to quit in despair.

All members of Congress should be swamped with demands that they work for repeal of all federal labor legislation, and work for passage of the Adair farm bill.

Repeal of all federal labor laws would eliminate the special privileges which big unions enjoy, would get the federal government out of its

WHO IS DAN SMOOT?

Born in Missouri, reared in Texas, Dan Smoot went to SMU getting BA and MA degrees, 1938 and 1940. In 1941, he joined the faculty at Harvard as a Teaching Fellow, doing graduate work for a doctorate in American civilization. From 1942 to 1951, he was an FBI agent: three and a half years on communist investigations; two years on FBI headquarters staff; almost four years on general FBI cases in various places. He resigned from the FBI and, from 1951 to 1955, was commentator on national radio and television programs, giving *both* sides of controversial issues. In July, 1955, he started his present profit-supported, free-enterprise business: publishing *The Dan Smoot Report*, a weekly magazine available by subscription; and producing a weekly news-analysis radio and television broadcast, available for sponsorship by reputable business firms, as an advertising vehicle. The *Report* and broadcast give *one* side of important issues: the side that presents documented truth using the American Constitution as a yardstick. If you think Smoot's materials are effective against socialism and communism, you can help immensely — help get subscribers for the *Report*, commercial sponsors for the broadcast.

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unconstitutional activities in labor-management relations, and would leave with state and local governments their constitutional responsibilities to protect life and property.

The Adair farm bill (HR 7835, introduced on May 4, 1965, by U. S. Representative E. Ross Adair, Indiana Republican) would repeal the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, thus getting the government out of the farming business, leaving farmers free to solve their own problems in the free enterprise way. This bill offers constitutional conservatives a *positive* program of action: they can help create public demand that Congress pass the Adair bill.

FOOTNOTES

(1) "The Power Grid Scheme," *The Dan Smoot Report*, August 12, 1963, pp. 249-56; reprints available at rates published at the bottom of the first page of this *Report*

(2) "Secretary Udall Tries Power Grab in South Carolina," by Allan H. Ryskind, *Human Events*, July 31, 1965, pp. 6-7

(3) "Washington Whispers," *U.S. News & World Report*, August 2, 1965, p. 14

(4) "Washington Whispers," *U.S. News & World Report*, August 9, 1965, p. 31

(5) "Shocking Tactics Used to Enroll Union Members," reprint from the Des Moines *Register*, *Human Events*, July 31, 1965, p. 11

(6) "Can Union Demands Kill The U.S. Shipping Industry?" *U.S. News & World Report*, August 2, 1965, pp. 61-2

(7) *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, July 16, 1965, p. 1372, and July 30, 1965, pp. 1512-4

(8) "Agriculture At Bay," *The Dan Smoot Report*, March 15, 1965, pp. 81-8; reprints available at rates published at the bottom of the first page of this *Report*

(9) "Freeman Lashes At 'Bread Trust,'" UPI dispatch from Columbia, Missouri, *The Dallas Morning News*, August 3, 1965, p. 10A

(10) "Unfair Lobbying Charge Levied at Freeman, USDA," *The Dallas Morning News*, August 5, 1965, p. 14A

(11) *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, August 20, 1965, pp. 1631-2

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